

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY BAMAKO

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY COTONOU

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY FREETOWN

AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LOME

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU

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E. O. 11652: ADS, DECLAS 4-19-73

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SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S FOREIGN POLICY REPORT

DAKAR POUCH BATHURST; LAGOS PASS CONSULS.

1. TEXT OF SECTION ON WEST AFRICA IN SECRETARY'S 1972  
FOREIGN POLICY REPORT SCHEDULED FOR RELEASE APRIL 19  
FOLLOWS IN FULL:

WEST AFRICA

VISITS

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2. MRS. NIXON'S VISITS TO THREE WEST AFRICAN STATES WARMLY  
DEMONSTRATED AMERICAN INTEREST IN AFRICA AND ITS PEOPLES.

BY DESIGNATING THE FIRST LADY TO LEAD THE U. S. DELEGATION TO PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S INAUGURATION IN JANUARY, PRESIDENT NIXON REINFORCED OUR HISTORICALLY CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH LIBERIA. THE WARM WELCOME ACCORDED HER BY THE LIBERIANS EQUALLY REFLECTED THAT RELATIONSHIP.

3. MRS. NIXON'S SUBSEQUENT VISITS TO THE IVORY COAST AND GHANA ADDED A HAPPY NEW DIMENSION TO OUR RELATIONS WITH THESE FRIENDLY STATES.

4. PRESIDENT JAWARA OF THE GAMBIA MADE A PRIVATE VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES IN LATE 1972 FOLLOWING AN OFFICIAL TRIP TO THE FAR EAST. VICE PRESIDENT CAMARA, WHO LED THE GAMBIAN DELEGATION TO THE U. N. GENERAL ASSEMBLY, HAD USEFUL PRIVATE TALKS WITH SECRETARY ROGERS.

#### DIVERSIFICATION IN RELATIONSHIPS

5. WE HAVE SUSTAINED OR IMPROVED GOOD RELATIONS WITH ALL WEST AFRICAN STATES IN CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH HAVE VARIED ACCORDING TO THE POLICIES AND DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIVIDUAL STATES, ESPECIALLY IN THE AREAS OF DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION.

6. LIBERIA, WHOSE RESOURCES OF IRON ORE AND NATURAL RUBBER HAVE BEEN DEVELOPED IN LARGE PART BY AMERICAN INVESTORS, UNDERTOOK IN 1972 TO ACCELERATE ITS ECONOMIC ADVANCE. NEW INVESTMENTS WERE GIVEN INTENSIVE STUDY AND OLDER AGREEMENTS, REEXAMINED. IN THE COURSE OF THIS PROCESS, THE LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT REAFFIRMED ITS OPEN DOOR POLICY FOR FOREIGN INVESTORS. INTERNAL ADMINISTRATIVE REFORMS WERE FORMULATED TO IMPROVE THE GOVERNMENT'S EFFICIENCY. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE FROM A. I. D. TOTALLED \$14 MILLION, CONCENTRATED CHIEFLY ON PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND COMMUNICATIONS. REFLECTING WIDENING INTERESTS, LIBERIA ESTABLISHED DIPLOMATIC AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN THE COURSE OF THE YEAR WITH THE SOVIET UNION, CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AND ROMANIA.

7. GHANA'S NEW GOVERNMENT, THE NATIONAL REDEMPTION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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COUNCIL, INDICATED ITS DESIRE TO MAINTAIN GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES SOON AFTER COMING TO POWER IN JANUARY 1972. WHEN EXISTING DEBT RESCHEDULING AGREEMENTS WERE DENOUNCED BY THE COUNCIL IN THE FOLLOWING MONTH, THE GHANA GOVERNMENT NEVERTHELESS CONTINUED TO REPAY THE MINIMAL DEBTS OWED THE UNITED STATES. WE HAVE SUPPORTED THE PROPOSAL, ENDORSED ALSO BY OTHER CREDITORS, THAT FAVORS DEBT RESCHEDULING CONSISTENT WITH GHANA'S REPAYMENT CAPACITY AND ITS NEED FOR ADEQUATE ECONOMIC GROWTH. THE

PROPOSAL ALSO LOOKS TO THE PROSPECT OF INCREASED DEVELOPMENT AID. THE WORLD BANK HAS PROVIDED ITS GOOD OFFICES TO CREDITORS AND TO GHANA IN THIS PROCESS.

8. U. S. BUSINESS INTERESTS IN NIGERIA GREW AS THE COUNTRY'S ECONOMY, BUOYED BY RISING OIL REVENUES, EXPANDED. THE UNITED STATES REMAINS NIGERIA'S SECOND LARGEST TRADING PARTNER, AND AMERICAN FIRMS HOLD INVESTMENTS IN NIGERIA VALUED AT OVER \$800 MILLION. ALTHOUGH WELCOMING FOREIGN INVESTMENT, NIGERIA HAS DESIGNATED SPECIFIC COMMERCIAL, MANUFACTURING, AND SERVICE ACTIVITIES WHERE FOREIGN OWNERSHIP WILL BE RESTRICTED IN ORDER TO ENCOURAGE GREATER

PARTICIPATION IN THE ECONOMY BY NIGERIANS. THE GOVERNMENT IS ALSO SEEKING PARTICIPATION IN COMMERCIAL BANKS, THE OIL SECTOR, AND KEY INDUSTRIES.

9. THE NIGERIAN ECONOMY HAS ONE OF THE WORLD'S HIGHEST GROWTH RATES, WITH GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT INCREASING BY 12 PERCENT IN THE 1971-72 FISCAL YEAR, NEARLY TWICE THE TARGET SET BY NIGERIA'S FOUR- YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN. PRESENT OIL PRODUCTION EXCEEDS 1.8 MILLION BARRELS PER DAY, MAKING NIGERIA THE WORLD'S EIGHTH LARGEST PRODUCER. EXPANDING OIL EXPORTS HAVE ENABLED THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT TO ACHIEVE A BUDGETARY SURPLUS, REDUCE TRADE ARREARS, LIBERALIZE IMPORT RESTRICTIONS, AND RELAX FOREIGN EXCHANGE CONTROLS. NIGERIA'S ECONOMIC RECOVERY AND RECENT POLITICAL STABILITY ALSO HAVE PERMITTED GENERAL GOWON TO STRENGTHEN TIES WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND ASSUME A PROMINENT LEADERSHIP ROLE IN AFRICAN AFFAIRS.

10. DESPITE NIGERIA'S ENCOURAGING ECONOMIC PROGRESS, THE PROBLEMS POSED BY ITS LAGGING AGRICULTURAL SECTOR AND LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BURGEONING POPULATION ( OVER 60 MILLION PERSONS) SUGGEST THAT CONTINUED, BALANCED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA REMAINS A CHALLENGING TASK IN WHICH EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE WILL CONTINUE TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE. U. S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE EXPENDITURES IN NIGERIA DURING FISCAL YEAR 1972 REACHED THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN THE HISTORY OF THE A. I. D. PROGRAM.

11. OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH GUINEA WERE STRENGTHENED BY THE ARRIVAL OF A NEW U. S. AMBASSADOR IN CONAKRY, AFTER AN EIGHT- MONTH INTERVAL WITHOUT ONE, AND A VISIT TO WASHINGTON BY AN IMPORTANT MINISTERIAL DELEGATION. U. S. INVESTMENT IN GUINEA'S BAUXITE INDUSTRY INCREASED AND THE FIRST SHIPMENTS FROM BOKE, THE WORLD'S LARGEST KNOWN BAUXITE DEPOSIT, ARE EXPECTED TO BEGIN DURING THE SECOND

HALF OF 1973. A NEW FIVE- YEAR DEVELOPMENT PLAN, TO BE PRESENTED TO GUINEA'S POLITICAL PARTY CONGRESS IN APRIL, COULD GIVE ADDITIONAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR U. S. INVESTMENT.

12. THE YEAR WAS ALSO MARKED BY GREATLY EXPANDED CONTACTS BETWEEN GUINEA AND OTHER AFRICAN STATES, ESPECIALLY ITS NEIGHBORS. GUINEA CONTINUED TO PLAY A PROMINENT ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, PARTICULARLY THROUGH ITS MEMBERSHIP ON THE U. N. SECURITY COUNCIL- WHERE ITS REPRESENTATIVE HAD THE DISTINCTION OF BECOMING THE FIRST WOMAN IN HISTORY TO HOLD THE PRESIDENCY OF THAT BODY.

13. THE UNITED STATES HAS GENERALLY GOOD RELATIONS WITH SIERRA LEONE, DESPITE DIFFERENCES OF VIEW ON MANY INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. FOLLOWING THE BANKRUPTCY IN 1971 OF SHERBRO MINERALS, A TITANIUM OXIDE MINING COMPANY WITH 80 PERCENT U. S. PRIVATE OWNERSHIP AND \$10 MILLION EXPORT-IMPORT BANK INVESTMENT, EXTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS ENSUED WHICH LED TO THE FORMATION OF A SUCCESSOR COMPANY, SIERRA RUTILE, INCORPORATED. THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE MARKED BY A DISTINCTLY COOPERATIVE SPIRIT ON THE PART OF THE SIERRA LEONE GOVERNMENT. THE EXPLORATION AND TESTING PHASE OF THE NEW OPERATION IS NOW UNDER WAY.

14. THE UNITED STATES CONTINUED IN 1972 TO CULTIVATE ITS EXCELLENT RELATIONS WITH MEMBER STATES OF THE COUNCIL OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THE ENTENTE -- DAHOMEY, IVORY COAST, NIGER, TOGO, AND UPPER VOLTA. IN DAHOMEY, MIDDLE- GRADE OFFICERS LED A BLOODLESS COUP AND UNDERTOOK, IN GENERAL, THE CONTINUATION OF PREVIOUS POLICIES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS. IN THE OTHER FOUR NATIONS, POLITICAL STABILITY PREVAILED.

15. THE PACE OF IVORY COAST'S ECONOMIC GROWTH WAS SLOWED BY UNCERTAIN WORLD COFFEE AND COCOA PRICES, BUT DEVELOPMENT CONTINUED, HIGHLIGHTED BY THE DEDICATION OF SUCH IMPORTANT WORKS AS THE KOSSOU DAM, THE NEW PORT AT SAN PEDRO, AND A SECOND DAM AT KORHOGO. THE U. S. ROLE IN THIS DEVELOPMENT INCLUDES BOTH THE PRIVATE AND PUBLIC SECTORS. THE U. S. IS THE IVORY COAST'S NUMBER TWO TRADING PARTNER. THE EXPORT- IMPORT BANK HAS EXTENDED CREDITS OF \$46 MILLION TO KAISER ENGINEERS FOR ITS WORK ON THE KOSSOU DAM AND \$41.6 MILLION IN LOANS AND GUARANTEES TO LANG ENGINEERS FOR ITS PARTICIPATION IN A NEW SUGAR MILL COMPLEX AT FERKESSODOUGOU.

16. IN ADDITION TO ONGOING REGIONAL A. I. D. PROGRAMS SUCH AS THE ENTENTE LIVESTOCK COMMUNITY, A. I. D. AUTHORIZED A

NUMBER OF NEW PROGRAMS THIS YEAR. AMONG THESE ARE A LOAN TO THE AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT BANK TO HELP SET UP SMALL BUSINESS ENTERPRISES; THE PARAKOU- MALANVILLE ROAD LINKING DAHOMEY AND NIGER; AND, SUBJECT TO THE APPROVAL OF THE DAHOMEAN GOVERNMENT, THE RAISING OF THE BRIDGE ACROSS THE NIGER RIVER BETWEEN DAHOMEY AND NIGER. THE LATTER PROJECT, COUPLED WITH A. I. D.- FINANCED EXPANSION OF THE PORT OF GAYA, SHOULD PROVIDE NIGER A NEW ACCESS TO THE OCEAN VIA NIGERIA. THE TOGOLESE AND DAHOMEANS HAVE INDICATED THEIR INTENTION TO USE FUNDS PROVIDED BY A. I. D. FOR DEVELOPMENT BANKS WITHIN THE ENTENTE AND HAVE EXPRESSED INTEREST IN THE REGIONAL GRAIN STABILIZATION

PROGRAM AS WELL.

17. U. S. RELATIONS WITH BOTH MALI AND SENEGAL IN 1972 REFLECTED GREATER MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING THAN PERHAPS AT ANY TIME SINCE THESE NATIONS OBTAINED INDEPENDENCE. ALTHOUGH DIFFERENCES PERSISTED OVER U. S. POLICIES IN ASIA, SUPPORT FOR AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS AND U. N. ACTION LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ON SENEGAL' S RECURRING BORDER CLASHES WITH PORTUGUESE GUINEA, THESE DIFFERENCES DID NOT INTERFERE WITH MUTUAL EFFORTS TO ATTACK SENEGAL' S AND MALI' S TWOFOLD DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS: INSUFFICIENT FOOD PRODUCTION AND OVERDEPENDENCE ON A SINGLE AGRICULTURAL EXPORT PRODUCT. U. S. REGIONAL AID CONCENTRATES ON AGRICULTURE, ESPECIALLY GRAIN PRODUCTION AND LIVESTOCK, AS WELL AS TRANSPORT, MATERNAL HEALTH AND POPULATION, AND THE STUDY OF EARTH RESOURCES VIA SATELLITE. IT IS GEARED TO SUPPORT SEVERAL NEW REGIONAL ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS TO WHICH MALI AND SENEGAL BELONG AND IS INCREASINGLY COORDINATED WITH OTHER DONOR NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. BOTH THE DEPARTMENTS OF STATE AND COMMERCE MADE GREATER EFFORTS IN 1972 TO INCREASE COMMERCIAL LINKS THROUGH INVESTMENT AND TRADE. WE BELIEVE WE HAVE ESTABLISHED, THROUGH CLOSE COORDINATION WITH SENEGAL AND MALI, A SOLID BASIS FOR CONTINUED IMPROVEMENT IN OUR RELATIONS.

U. S. EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE

18. BOTH SENEGAL AND MALI, AS WELL AS THE INLAND COUNTRIES OF THE ENTENTE, NIGER AND UPPER VOLTA, HAVE SUFFERED YET ANOTHER YEAR OF SEVERE DROUGHT. THE RESULT IS GRAVE CONCERN FOR MEETING FOOD NEEDS IN THE AREA. THE U. S. GOVERNMENT COMMITTED, UNDER THE EMERGENCY FOOD GRAIN ASSISTANCE PROVISIONS OF PUBLIC LAW 480, 49,000 METRIC TONS OF CEREALS FOR THIS DROUGHT STRICKEN ZONE. AN ADDITIONAL 48,000 TONS OF GRAIN WERE COMMITTED UNDER A GRAIN

STABILIZATION PROGRAM DESIGNED TO ENCOURAGE INCREASED CEREAL PRODUCTION AND MORE STABLE PRICES. U. S. ASSISTANCE WAS ALSO CHANNLED THROUGH THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM OF THE UNITED NATIONS, TO WHICH WE ALLOCATED 50,000 TONS OF FOOD GRAINS AND WE ARE COORDINATING OUR EFFORTS WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET ASSISTANCE AGENCY AND THE BILATERAL PROGRAMS OF WESTERN EUROPEAN DONORS.

19. IN ADDITION TO THE FOREGOING QUOTED SECTION ON WEST AFRICA, REFERENCES TO AF/ W COUNTRIES ARE FOUND AS FOLLOWS.

20. FOR ACCRA AND ABIDJAN. IN THE SECTION ON " EXPANDING TRADE", PAGE 452 FF, IT IS NOTED THAT ONE OR TWO PRIMARY COMMODITIES SUPPLY MOST OF THE NORMAL FOREIGN EXCHANGE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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EARNINGS OF A NUMBER OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING " COCOA ACCOUNTS FOR 55-60 PERCENT OF GHANA'S RECEIPTS". SECTION GOES ON TO SAY " AFRICAN OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN ACTIVE IN INTERNATIONAL DELIBERATIONS ON COMMODITY PROBLEMS. THE INTERNATIONAL COFFEE AGREEMENT CONTINUED IN FORCE WITH ACTIVE U. S. AND AFRICAN PARTICIPATION. ALSO THIS YEAR, AFRICANS WERE AMONG COCOA PRODUCER AND CONSUMER REPRESENTATIVES WHO DREW UP AN INTERNATIONAL COCOA AGREEMENT AFTER 16 YEARS OF EFFORT. ON NOVEMBER 15 THE AGREEMENT WAS OPENED FOR SIGNATURE AT THE UNITED NATIONS IN NEW YORK. AFRICA PRODUCES ABOUT THREE- FOURTHS OF THE WORLD'S COCOA, AND THE SALE TERMS OF THIS COMMODITY ARE OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE FOR A NUMBER OF AFRICAN ECONOMIES. GROWING AFRICAN CONCERN OVER COMMODITY ISSUES PRESENTS THE UNITED STATES WITH A DILEMMA. ALTHOUGH WE DESIRE TO RESPOND TO THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF OUR AFRICAN TRADING PARTNERS, WE ARE ALSO CONCERNED WITH THE PRICES PAID BY THE AMERICAN CONSUMER. TRADITIONALLY, THE UNITED STATES HAS TRIED TO RECONCILE THESE INTERESTS AND TO FOSTER A MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL EXPANSION OF TRADE BY MEANS OTHER THAN COMMODITY AGREEMENTS."

21. FOR LAGOS AND NIAMEY. IN SECTION ON " AFRICAN RESOURCES" NIGERIA IS LISTED AS ONE OF THREE AFRICAN COUNTRIES WHO ARE MAJOR PRODUCERS OF OIL AND GAS, WHICH ARE INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT TO AMERICAN CONSUMERS. IT IS ALSO NOTED THAT AFRICA IS THE STOREHOUSE FOR ABOUT 23 PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S KNOWN RESERVES OF URANIUM ORE, IN WHICH CONNECTION NIGER IS MENTIONED AS AN IMPORTANT EXPORTER.

22. FOR BAMAKO. IN SECTION ENTITLED " DEVELOPMENT- THE CONTINUING CHALLENGE" REFERENCE IS MADE TO THE " CRUCIAL ROLE OF AMERICA'S ADVANCED TECHNOLOGY". AFRICANS, THE

REPORT STATES, " WHATEVER THEIR POLITICS OR LEVELS OF INCOME, PLACE GREAT HOPE IN THE POTENTIAL FOR UTILIZING AMERICAN TECHNOLOGY TO HELP SOLVE THEIR DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS. A STRIKING EXAMPLE IS THE PARTICIPATION OF MALI... IN THE EXPERIMENTAL EARTH RESOURCE TECHNOLOGY SATELLITE PROGRAM."

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23. FOR ABIDJAN, OUAGADOUGOU, NIAMEY, LOME, COTONOU, BAMAKO. IN SECTION ON " REGIONAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS" THERE ARE FOLLOWING REFERENCES TO THE ENTENTE, THE WEST AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY, AND THE ENTENTE LIVESTOCK COMMUNITY. " NONETHELESS, REGIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION HAS BECOME A FACT OF LIFE IN WEST AFRICA. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES REGIONAL COOPERATION TO BE A SIGNIFICANT

POSITIVE ELEMENT IN AFRICA' S LONG- RANGE DEVELOPMENT. THE FIVE- NATION COUNCIL OF THE ENTENTE ( IVORY COAST, UPPER VOLTA, NIGER, TOGO, DAHOMEY) SPONSORS ECONOMIC ENTERPRISES RANGING FROM TOURISM TO GRAIN STABILIZATION. IN 1972 THE ENTENTE FORMALLY ACCEPTED MALI AS A MEMBER OF ITS LIVESTOCK COMMUNITY AND AGREED TO THE COOPERATION OF ZAIRE IN THE REGIONAL ROAD MAINTENANCE TRAINING CENTER. THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE, AND CANADA CHANNEL SIGNIFICANT ASSISTANCE TO WEST AFRICAN STATES THROUGH THIS MEDIUM OF REGIONAL COOPERATION. IN JUNE SEVEN FRENCH- SPEAKING STATES ESTABLISHED A WEST AFRICAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY WITH THE AIM OF CREATING A COMMON MARKET BY 1974. THE ORIGINAL MEMBERS-- IVORY COAST, SENEGAL, MAURITANIA, NIGER, UPPER VOLTA, MALI, AND DAHOMEY-- ANNOUNCED THAT THE COMMUNITY WOULD BE OPEN TO OTHER STATES IN THE AREA."

24. FOR DAKAR AND CONAKRY. IN SECTION ENTITLED " REGIONAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS" THERE OCCURS THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT. " A SPIRIT OF RECONCILIATION MARKED THE 1972 OAU SUMMIT. THE SETTLEMENT OF TWO SERIOUS AFRICAN CONTROVERSIES-- THE MOROCCAN- ALGERIAN BORDER DISPUTE AND THE SENEGAL- GUINEA POLITICAL REFUGEE ISSUE-- WERE ESPECIALLY USEFUL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PREVAILING HARMONY."

25. SEPTELS COVER OTHER ASPECTS OF SECRETARY' S REPORT. ADDRESSEES MAY USE FOREGOING TEXT IN DISCUSSION LOCAL OFFICIALS IN MANNER THEY DEEM MOST APPROPRIATE. ROGERS

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